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# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

VOLUME XIV, NUMBER 13      WASHINGTON, D. C.      DECEMBER 11, 1944

## Canadians Clash on Draft for Overseas

**Demonstrations Staged Against Order to Send "Zombies" Abroad for Service**

### BASIS OF CONFLICT DEEP-SEATED

**Results Largely from Historic Privileges Guaranteed to People of French Canada**

To most Americans, recent events involving the Canadians have appeared extremely puzzling and contradictory. On the one hand we have reports of the bravery and daring exploits of the Canadian forces on the Western Front. On the other, we read of bitter feeling and unrest on the Canadian home front

#### NOTICE

The next issue of *The American Observer* will appear after the Christmas holidays and will be dated January 1. We take this occasion to wish all our readers a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

on the issue of sending conscripted soldiers overseas for combat duty.

The Canadians have played a brilliant military role in this war. They bore the brunt of the Dieppe raid of the summer of 1942, which resulted in extremely heavy casualties. They have fought magnificently in clearing Antwerp and other Channel ports of Nazis. Late last month, their Second Army joined the six Allied armies hammering Hitler's Fortress from the west.

#### Many Demonstrations

At the same time, there have been numerous demonstrations in Canada, by soldiers and students, against an order of the government to send drafted men overseas for combat duty. The issue arose as a result of the need for greater reinforcements overseas, a need which could not be met by relying upon the system of sending overseas only those members of the armed forces who volunteered.

A similar crisis developed during the First World War. Then, as now, the Canadian forces overseas were in dire need of reinforcement and the government put conscription into effect. The result, then, as now, was unrest and mass demonstrations. In Quebec, there was rioting and bloodshed.

While the danger of more serious difficulty in Canada seems to have been removed for the time being, it is by no means certain that a new crisis will not develop as the war progresses and the need for more manpower overseas increases. As a matter of fact, the recent trouble is but another manifestation of the long-standing division among the Canadian people—a division which has led to many conflicts in the past and which may well lead to more serious problems in the future.

The basic conflict stems from the

(Concluded on page 6)



Winter, Washington, War

(THIS PHOTO, BY GEORGE GAYLIN, OF ACME NEWSPICTURES, WAS RECENTLY CHOSEN AS THE BEST IN SCENIC CLASS IN WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHIC CONTEST)

## The Spirit of Christmas

By Walter E. Myer

It would be worth our while to celebrate the Christmas season even though the holiday had no religious significance. For the Christmas spirit is a spirit of gayety, of good will, of brightness and color. Our everyday lives are inclined to be somewhat drab and tiring. They are also anxious and harried, especially during these times of war. We need release from the tensions of the workaday world, and Christmas gives it to us.

But while Christmas, devoid of its religious meaning, would have a useful place in the national life it has a much higher place when we celebrate it for what it is—the birthday of One who taught us a way of life; a way whose observance alone will insure harmony in our personal relations and peace among the nations of the world.

I shall not speak of the controversial issues which have grown up around the teachings of Jesus or the conflicting doctrines to which they have given rise. There is enough upon which all of us, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, can agree. We know that Jesus called upon us to be rigidly unselfish, to seek the welfare of others as zealously as we seek to satisfy our own interests. We know that he proclaimed a life of service as the greatest good, and that the greatest among us are the servants of all. He taught us to be kindly, sympathetic, and charitable. He declared the futility of trying to achieve happiness through the acquisition of material goods.

If these rules were to be made the rules of conduct and the inspiration to action by men and nations most of the fears and worries and sufferings which make mockery of human hopes would disappear. Wars and rumors of wars would vanish from the earth. If, on the other hand, these principles are not enthroned in our personal and in the public life, a thousand miseries will forever plague us and wars, despite all the machinery of conciliation which can be established, will consume us.

We call this a Christian nation, but we are far from the acceptance of the simplest and most fundamental of the teachings of Christ. We make little compromises here and there, but few of us go all the way toward a life of service to all. Few of us heed the injunction that we love our neighbors as ourselves, and fewer still concede that our neighbors are those who have need of us, wherever they may be.

Yes, we need the color and gayety and cheer of the Christmas season. Let us enjoy all this in full measure. But let us also ponder in humble reverence the teachings of Him in whose name the season is observed.

## Congress to Decide on Social Security

**Will Consider Expanding and Revising Present System of Benefits to Workers**

### FREEZING OF TAX IS DISCUSSED

**Heated Controversy Develops over Health Insurance and Other Changes Now Proposed**

The social security program is being widely debated throughout the country as Congress prepares to make vital decisions. Both the present Congress and the new one which convenes January 3 must consider the program. The present Congress will have to decide whether to increase the social security tax which is collected from some 47,500,000 American workers and their employers. Under the law as it now stands, the tax will be doubled January 1, with workers paying two per cent of their wages, instead of the one per cent now collected, and employers paying the same amount.

The new Congress will have to decide more far-reaching issues dealing with social security. It will have to determine whether the whole program is to be expanded so as to include from 15 to 20 million persons not now covered by unemployment and old-age insurance and whether other benefits, such as health insurance, shall be provided in the general social security program of the nation. Before discussing these issues, however, let us look at the program as it now operates.

#### Revolutionary Step

The Social Security Act, first passed in 1935 and amended in 1939, is one of the most important pieces of legislation ever enacted by an American Congress. For the first time in our history, it recognized the responsibility of government to do something about such hazards as unemployment and old age—social and economic hazards over which large numbers of people have little or no control. Thus it was an attempt to cushion the shock of such hazards, to provide means whereby workers could be protected when they lost their jobs or when they became too old to earn a living.

The program went into effect January 1, 1937, and since that time billions of dollars have been collected from workers and employers to provide a fund from which payments are made to the unemployed and the aged. The conditions and terms under which unemployment compensation is paid vary with the different states, because this part of the law is administered by state governments, not the federal government. The taxes from which unemployment insurance is paid come exclusively from employers and amount to 2.7 per cent of the workers' wages.

As a general rule, a worker who loses his job starts receiving payments after he has been out of work a certain

(Concluded on page 2)



**SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM HELPS THEM.** Various forms of assistance to children, unemployment insurance, and old-age benefits are among the principal benefits which the American people receive from the social security program now in effect.

## Security for the American People

(Concluded from page 1)

length of time, in most cases three weeks. If at the end of that time, he has not found another job, he may apply for compensation. The amount he receives varies from state to state, the maximum being \$16 to \$18 a week. There is also a limit on the number of weeks he may continue to receive payments—generally no more than 16. In order to help unemployed workers, the federal government maintains employment offices in all the states to help unemployed workers find new jobs.

Approximately one-third of all American workers are not covered by social security and hence are not entitled to unemployment compensation. Agricultural and domestic workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, persons who are self-employed, and those who work for various government agencies are not included, and there will be a strong movement during the next Congress to include all these persons.

### Old-Age Benefits

The second major part of the social security program deals with old-age and survivors' insurance. Each of the 47,500,000 workers entitled to unemployment insurance is also entitled to the benefits provided by this feature of the law. Each worker covered pays a tax of one per cent of his total income (up to \$3,000 a year), and an equal amount is paid by his employer. This tax goes into a "Federal Old-Age and Survivors Trust Fund."

Upon reaching the age of 65, an insured worker begins to receive monthly payments, which continue for the remainder of his life. The amount of his monthly payments depends upon wages he has received and upon the number of years he has been paying taxes. Naturally, those whose earnings have been small and who reach the age of 65 only a few years after the program has been in effect, will receive far less than workers whose wages have been high over a long period of years.

The maximum monthly payment possible under the old-age benefits section of the law is \$85 a month, for a married person, and \$56 for a single person, no matter how long he has been insured or how much he has earned.

The minimum payment provided is \$10 a month.

There are also benefits for the survivors of an insured worker. The widow of a worker who died before reaching the age of 65 is entitled to monthly payments based on the contributions which the husband had made up to the time of his death. If the widow has children under 16, she need not wait until she reaches the age of 65.

Since the social security program went into effect, about two and a half million persons have received old-age and survivors' checks from the fund. More than a million are now in force. Others have been discontinued either because persons over 65 have taken war jobs or have died. Altogether more than half a billion dollars has been paid out of this fund.

The government collects approximately \$1,500,000 a year at the present rate of taxation. Because this sum is many times more than the amount which is paid out in benefits, a large reserve fund has been established. By the end of this month, it will amount to six billion dollars. If the tax is doubled next month—as it will be unless Congress acts—an additional \$1,500,000 a year will be collected from workers and employers.

The fight to freeze the social security tax at its present level is being led by Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, who argues that the reserve fund is already large enough to take care of needs for the next few years. He argues that the tax should be increased only as the number of persons receiving benefits increases. He says that it would be dishonest to collect taxes for one purpose; namely, social security, and use the money for other purposes; that is, to defray the overall expenses of the government.

The Roosevelt administration is insistent that the social security tax be allowed to increase as provided by the present law. Its principal argument is that a large reserve is necessary to meet future needs because the number of persons reaching 65 and entitled to benefits will increase with each passing year. Many of those who are now working will retire after the war.

The second argument used by those

who favor increasing the tax is that it would reduce the threat of inflation by draining off more money in taxes. Furthermore, it is argued, now is the most favorable time to increase the tax because both workers and employers can afford it better at a time when wages are high and business activity at an all-time peak.

It is difficult for the average person to decide on the merits of these conflicting arguments because the whole issue involves technical knowledge of government finance. If the tax is not frozen at its present level, it seems probable that the question of future finance will be debated at the time Congress takes up the question of expanding and revising the social security program, sometime next year.

### Other Provisions

While most people think of social security only in terms of unemployment and old-age insurance, these are really only part of the entire program now in effect. These are, indeed, the only "insurance" features of the program, but there are other benefits provided for large sections of the American population.

Among the most important of these is the program of public assistance to the aged, the needy blind, and dependent children. For persons 65 or older who are in need and not covered by insurance, the states have a program of assistance. The amount of money provided varies from state to state. The federal government matches the state's contribution, up to \$20 a month.

A similar arrangement exists in the programs of aid to the blind and dependent children. The costs of both programs are shared by federal and state government, with the actual administration in the hands of state and local authorities.

Another important feature of the social security program now in effect is that which provides for help to crippled children, for maternal and child services, and for child welfare services. The financial burdens of these programs are shared by the federal and state governments.

Finally, under the social security program, there has been a great expan-

sion in public health services in general. The states are assisted in planning and maintaining adequate health services.

In addition to the proposals that practically all workers be brought under social security coverage, legislation now pending in Congress would make many drastic changes in the present program. Most of these are incorporated into the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. This measure would increase the scale of unemployment and old-age benefits. It would lengthen the number of weeks during which an unemployed person is entitled to benefits and would increase the amount of the weekly payments. Similarly, it would increase the old-age insurance benefits. For example, a family could receive as much as \$125 a month instead of the present \$85 maximum.

The proposed law also would bring the entire social security program under the federal government. At present, part of it is administered by the national government, part of it by the states, and part by both. In this way, there would be uniformity in benefits throughout the country.

The most controversial feature of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is that which deals with health insurance. It would provide full medical care (except dental work) to every insured worker and his entire family, and hospital care up to 30 days.

In order to finance such an expanded program, the social security tax would increase to six per cent of the insured worker's wages and another six per cent by the employer.

Because of the controversy involved in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, it seems probable that the measure will be broken into several measures, each dealing with certain features of the social security program. Some of these, such as the extension of benefits to more workers, are expected to pass with little opposition, whereas others, particularly the health-insurance plan, will be hotly debated throughout the nation.

As issues develop over the various proposals to enlarge the social security program, we shall discuss at length the arguments presented.



# Leaders in the News

**SHIFTS** of major importance came late last month in the State Department as President Roosevelt announced the resignation of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, the nomination of Edward R. Stettinius as his successor, and the appointment of Major General Patrick J. Hurley as ambassador to China.

Although rumors of Mr. Hull's impending resignation had been circulating in Washington for some weeks, the announcement was none the less a shock to the country. Because of an illness from which he could not recover while burdened with the responsibilities of office, the Secretary stepped down, at the age of 73, from the position he had held longer than any previous State Department chief.

Much of what Mr. Hull was able to accomplish during his years as director of our relations with the rest of the world was the result of the cordial relations he had established with the Congress from which he came. An indication of his influence in that body, and the high regard in which his knowledge and experience is held came in the President's assurance that Mr. Hull would continue to act as his adviser on foreign policy. Mr. Roosevelt also expressed the hope that Mr. Hull, as "father of the United Nations," might preside over the first session of the peace organization.

## Faithful Public Servant

Cordell Hull's official career, which lasted for more than half a century, has made him one of the most widely known citizens of the United States, truly deserving the title of faithful public servant. His service in Washington, including terms in both houses of the Congress, has been of 37 years' duration, and during nearly 12 years as secretary of state he achieved international recognition and the high regard, not only of the officials of many nations, but also of the people.

Throughout his long years in public life, Cordell Hull maintained the

policy" in our relations with South and Central America, the establishment of reciprocal trade agreements, and the consistent devotion to Wilsonian ideals of international cooperation are all closely linked with the name of the retired secretary. Since the beginning of the present war, however, he has been even more widely acclaimed as a result of his efforts to insure the building of a postwar security organization of the United Nations.

Only a year ago, Mr. Hull made the long, arduous trip to Moscow which resulted in agreements among Russia, Britain, and the United States which have not only smoothed the way for the joint prosecution of the war but which are also the foundations of the cooperation which can mean postwar peace and security for the world.

While highly esteemed and undeniably accomplished, Mr. Hull, together with the State Department as a whole, has at times been the subject of severe criticism on many occasions by those who have felt that democratic and progressive elements in various European countries have not been supported by our government. Acknowledging his devotion to principles in which he believed, his critics have deplored as too conservative and hesitant Mr. Hull's apparent agreement with certain State Department policies, particularly those dealing with Spain and Vichy France.

What changes will take place under Mr. Stettinius will be a vital question to the whole world. His appointment at this time is generally regarded as one of the most important of the 24 cabinet appointments made by President Roosevelt.

Compared with Mr. Hull, the new secretary of state has relatively little political experience, having never held an elective office. At 44 he is the second youngest man ever to have been appointed to the office which makes him third in line of succession to the presidency. The youngest was Edmund Randolph, who was 41 when he accepted the appointment made by President Washington in 1794.

Because of his lack of long experience in the international field, observers have suggested that the appointment of Mr. Stettinius indicates that the President intends to continue to act largely as his own secretary of state so far as matters of important policy are concerned. But whatever influence the new secretary may exert in determining policy, his responsibilities will be great, for the months and years ahead will be perhaps the most critical in our entire history and will demand the highest skill on the part of the secretary of state.

## No Newcomer

Edward Stettinius is no newcomer to Washington. As long ago as 1933, he served as liaison officer between the NRA, the first of the New Deal economic agencies, and American industry. He was brought back to Washington in 1939 as a member of the National Defense Committee. Later he was named chairman of the War Resources Board, and, in 1941, was made special assistant to the President in charge of lend-lease. His efficiency in filling this job won for him the respect of the entire nation.

A little more than a year ago, Stettinius was appointed undersecretary of state, to replace Sumner Welles. His education in State Department affairs



After serving longer than any secretary of state in American history, Cordell Hull has resigned his office because of illness. He is shown with the new secretary, Edward R. Stettinius.

began in earnest when within a few months he was sent to Great Britain to discuss a wide range of problems, including lend-lease and postwar treatment of Germany. Shortly after his return to this country, he was named head of the American delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

In addition to effecting many important changes in the organization of the State Department, Mr. Stettinius has during recent months been largely responsible for the conduct of our foreign relations, due to the absence of Mr. Hull.

## A Silver Spoon

A friend is supposed to have said of Edward Stettinius that he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth and changed it to a gold one through his own efforts. His great-grandfather came to America from Stettin, Germany, in the eighteenth century and settled in what is now the District of Columbia, but the family moved westward and Edward's father, assistant secretary of war during the First World War became a partner in the famous banking house of J. P. Morgan and Company.

Edward was born in Chicago and educated in New England and at the University of Virginia. He wanted to become a preacher and while in college went into the Virginia hills where he worked with the mountain people. He founded a one-man employment agency for his fellow-students which was so successful that it attracted the attention of a General Motors vice president. After a trip to Europe following college, Stettinius took a job as a stockroom attendant at the Hyatt Roller Bearing Works. With amazing speed he graduated to increasingly important positions, became vice president of General Motors, left to go to United States Steel Corporation, and within four years, when he was 38 years old, became chairman of the board of the world's greatest steel company.

Although he likes to find out what is taking place for himself, he has a genius, according to his associates, for picking competent people and giving them freedom to do their work, an ability which is invaluable in an administrative position which entails the use of many and diverse kinds of expert knowledge.

Frequently referred to as the "White Haired Boy," Stettinius can attribute the title either to the speed with which he has risen or to his own prematurely white hair, made more

striking by his ruddy complexion. He is extremely athletic and energetic. He has a gift for remembering names which he uses constantly. His informality and friendliness have sometimes been unsettling to some of his more formal diplomatic associates.

**T**HE assignment given to Major General Hurley is even more difficult in many ways than those he has already performed which won him the title of "trouble shooter" for the President. His job will be complicated by the break between the Chinese leader, Chiang Kai-shek, and American General Joseph W. Stilwell, who returned to this country last month, having been relieved of his post as commander of American forces in the China-Burma-India theater.

Our unity with the Chinese at this time becomes increasingly important as more of our strength is directed toward the war against Japan, and as Chinese military reverses become more and more serious. We will have to work even more closely with the Chinese government and with the people who have been fighting the Japanese since 1937. Ambassador Hurley was in China at the time of his appointment, having been sent there as a special representative of the President some three months ago.

Born in 1883 in the Choctaw Nation, Indian territory, before Oklahoma was admitted to the Union, Hurley later worked as national attorney for the Choctaw Indians. During the last war he served in the Army and rose to the rank of colonel. He was Secretary of War in the Hoover cabinet from 1929 to 1933.

Although he is a Republican and has often been critical of the President's domestic policies, he has served almost constantly since the outbreak of the present war on many confidential missions. He visited Russia and brought back data personally gathered on the Russian armies and their operations in the field and on the entire Russian war effort. He has performed various diplomatic and military missions in the Pacific, has served as minister to New Zealand. He was wounded in one of the first Japanese air attacks at Port Darwin, in Australia.

Hurley at 61 is handsome, tall, and affable. He is extremely sociably inclined, but his social activities have not interfered with the work which has won for him a high place in military, business, and government circles.

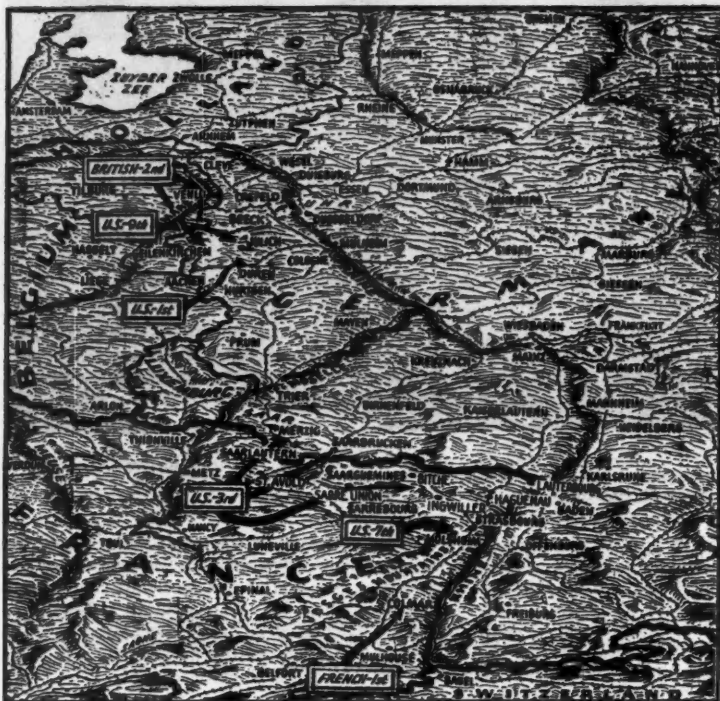


Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley

strong feelings and the ability as a fighter that he carried with him out of the "feud country" of the Tennessee mountains where he was born. Although in recent years he has adopted the habit of diplomacy, his wrath has been poured out on more than one adversary who has crossed his path. He regards himself as a plain man, and has never forgotten the hill people with whom he grew up.

Expansion of the "Good Neighbor

# The Story of the Week



The Western Front

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

## New Polish Regime

Hope that Poland's exile government might iron out its differences with Russia has been appreciably dimmed by the latest changes in the London Polish cabinet. Since the resignation of Premier Mikolajczyk, two new premiers, both socialists, have headed the government. The present premier, Tomasz Arciszewski has criticized Premier Mikolajczyk's policies as too conciliatory toward Russia and hence is not expected to prove a popular choice in Moscow.

Premier Arciszewski has had a long and tempestuous political career. In 1899 he was driven into exile for revolutionary activity against the czarist government in Poland. After the First World War, he was in the forefront of the movement for Polish independence. During this war, he has served as leader of the socialist underground inside Poland. Only last summer did he leave the country and, with Allied aid, come to London.

While it is too early to predict the course of Russo-Polish relations with Arciszewski at the head of the Polish

government-in-exile, it is feared that Premier Arciszewski may have even less success in dealing with the Russians than his predecessors. The Russians remain insistent upon boundary changes which Arciszewski is known to regard as completely unacceptable.

## Liberation Turmoil

When the people of Europe were under Nazi rule, they looked forward to liberation as the answer to all their worst problems. But now that the Nazis are being driven out of the occupied countries, German oppression has given way to a new kind of turmoil and trouble.

All the liberated and partly liberated countries face certain problems in common. First of all, there is political conflict—between returning exiled governments and resistance movements and between factions within these groups. Secondly, there is economic chaos, caused partly by Nazi occupation policies, partly by the devastations of battle, and partly by the sheer difficulty of keeping production and distribution going while so many other aspects of national life are disorganized. Most of the difficulties the liberated people are undergoing stem from these things.

In Italy, the five-month-old Bonomi government, unable to win support from the people or even to adjust the differences of its own members, has resigned, to be replaced by a new government under Premier Bonomi's leadership. Politically, the Italians are torn by differences over the monarchy, the amount of representation to be allowed resistance groups, and the question of land reform. Economically, they are paralyzed by the fact that most of their industries, located in northern cities, are still in German hands. Unless considerable aid is sent in from outside, they will pass the winter with extremely low supplies of food and fuel.

In Belgium, the government of Premier Pierlot is viewed with increasing hostility by the people. Only Allied intervention, undertaken on

grounds of military security, saved it from being overthrown when its conflict with the resistance movement reached a crisis over the question of disarming resistance armies. Like Italy, Belgium is suffering from a shortage of food and a breakdown of most industrial production.

Holland, too, is beset by political difficulties. Leaders of the resistance movement, feeling that their work during the occupation qualifies them for authority in the government, show increasing opposition to Queen Wilhelmina's government. They criticize her rule as too conservative and also as inefficient in dealing with the country's economic problems. For Holland, the economic problem is particularly acute, because of the large areas damaged by flooding. It is estimated that 17 per cent of the country's arable land is now under water and perhaps permanently ruined for agricultural purposes. Most of the flooding was done by the Germans as they retreated before our forces.

## Surplus Property Dispute

A new dispute on the question of surplus property disposal was touched off recently when President Roosevelt appointed Connecticut's ex-Governor Robert A. Hurley and Lieutenant Colonel Edward Heller to the Surplus Property Board. When the two appointments came up for confirmation, the Senate recalled that both men are connected with manufacturing interests heavily favored by government loans and hence in a position to buy up great quantities of surplus property. In the light of this fact, it began to question the advisability of confirming them.

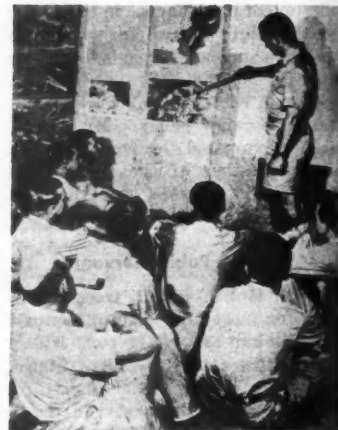
What Congress is trying to do is to prevent monopolies and other big businesses from cornering the biggest part of the government's surplus property. It has been hoped that surplus property might be distributed in such a way as to stimulate small business, provide opportunities for veterans starting out in business, and break down monopoly.

Feeling that Hurley and Heller might use their authority as SPB members to help large companies gain control of most of the goods to be sold, the Senate is planning further investigations before it confirms their appointment. One proposed Board member, Sam Husbands, has already

been rejected because of his big business connections. The appointment of Senator Guy Gillette, which will not come up for confirmation until his term ends, is expected to meet with Senate approval.

## Future of Lend-Lease

America's lend-lease policy toward Britain, both for the immediate future and for the postwar period, has just been settled after discussions between British government leaders and officials of our own State Department, Treasury Department, and Foreign Economic Administration. Briefly, the decision is to cut lend-lease shipments to Britain in half at the beginning of the year, to continue to forbid resale of lend-lease goods, and to ban postwar lend-lease altogether. This will mean that in 1945, Britain will receive about \$5,500,000,000 worth of



FINAL INSTRUCTIONS. Somewhere on Saipan Island, Brig. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, commander of the superfort group which made the first big B-29 attack on Tokyo, instructs his men on their historic mission.

goods from us through lend-lease but that shipments will stop with the end of the war with Japan.

While it is recognized that we need a strong Britain for our postwar security, it is also believed that this can be achieved without continuing lend-lease. A plan is now being worked out whereby reconversion here and in Britain will be arranged so that the two industrial systems return to peacetime operations at the same rate. This will prevent either country from gaining a competitive advantage in



CHINESE REFUGEES. Every available means of transportation is used by the Chinese civilians who flee from the terror of the advancing Japanese armies.

## The American Observer

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AMONG FRIENDS AGAIN. This Filipino guerrilla fighter on Leyte Island has made his way through hills swarming with Japanese to join American troops.

world trade. As for the financing of reconstruction in Britain, it is believed that private loans and new credit arrangements will be sufficient to help the country back to peacetime prosperity.

### French Socialism

The first indications of how the French economy will operate after the war appeared recently when General de Gaulle's government announced its plan for nationalizing the country's major coal mines. The plan points to a system of socialized industry in France, but one which retains many of the characteristics of free enterprise.

According to the new decree, the mines are now government property. Former owners who have not collaborated with the Nazis will receive compensation; others will be forced to give up their holdings with no return. The mines are to be run by a director-general appointed by the Minister of Public Works. Helping the director-general will be a consultative committee on which government, labor, and consumers will be represented. Unlike other government projects, however, the mines will be on their own financially, meeting the expenses of production from income rather than

from nationally appropriated funds. Profits will be divided between employees and the government.

With a national plan instead of business conditions governing changes in output, the French government believes production will come closer to meeting the actual needs of the country than it did under the old system. At the same time it is believed that because labor and consumers share in both management and profits of the industry, some of the evils of socialism such as extravagance, inefficiency, and red tape will be avoided. If the coal mines operate successfully under the new system, other French industries will be reorganized along the same lines. Other European nations may pattern economic changes of their own after the French experiment in the postwar period.

### Sedition Trial

As we go to press it seems likely that the sudden death of Chief Justice Edward C. Eicher may bring the mass sedition trial begun almost eight months ago to an inconclusive end. Unless lawyers for the 26 defendants agree to continue the proceedings under a new judge, a mistrial will be declared.

If this happens, the government

may start a new trial of the whole group of suspected seditionists, it may try them separately or in smaller groups, or it may drop the charges against them. Either of the first two possibilities will involve great additional outlays of time and money for the government. Presenting 39 out of a scheduled 200 witnesses, the prosecution has already spent an estimated \$65,000 over 119 days of court proceedings.

The defendants, among whom are such notorious figures as Lawrence Dennis, Joseph McWilliams, Elizabeth Dilling, and Gerald B. Winrod, are accused of "conspiring to undermine the morale and loyalty of the armed forces." They were indicted under the Espionage Act passed during the First World War. This law, under which many people were sent to prison in 1917 and 1918, places heavy penalties on defamation of the government or the encouragement of opposition to its policies in wartime.

### The Channel Islands

Four tiny islands just off the coast of Normandy constitute the only portion of the British Isles ever to be conquered by the Nazis. Today, although all northwestern France is in Allied hands, these islands—Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark—are still German strongholds. And now word has come that their inhabitants face a winter of starvation unless help is sent soon.

The Channel Islands were known in peacetime as summer resorts and breeding centers for the famous strains of cattle bearing their names. But when the Nazis occupied them four years ago, they were transformed into powerful air and submarine bases. As important parts of the Atlantic Wall defense system, they were equipped with some of the heaviest fortifications in the world. When the invasion came last summer, most of the attacks on Allied supply lines were launched from Guernsey.

The Nazis brought a harsh new system of government to the islands as soon as they had seized them. Until Cherbourg fell to our forces, however, they did supply the islanders with food. But once their own supply lines were cut, they began conserving all available food for themselves. The British government is now consider-

ing two possible relief measures. Either it might arrange through some neutral nation for the evacuation of as many as possible of the 70,000 native people or it might send in food supplies even though they would undoubtedly be used to feed the Germans as well as the British on the islands until the day of liberation.

### Christmas Seals

Every year since 1907, the American people have been asked to take part in the fight against tuberculosis by buying Christmas seals. This year, the holiday stamp issued by the National Tuberculosis Association bears the picture of a postman in memory of the man who originated this custom 40 years ago in Denmark.

Einar Holboell was working as a mail clerk when he conceived the idea



Hubert Pierlot

His government meets opposition

that stamps, normally used to raise money for the government, might also be sold to provide funds for philanthropic purposes. Why not sell stamps to decorate Christmas packages and use the money in preventing and curing tuberculosis?

Holboell finally won government approval for his scheme and in 1904, Danish post offices sold anti-tuberculosis stamps as well as ordinary postage stamps throughout the Christmas season. In 1907, the sale of Christmas seals began in the United States, and in 1920 the National Tuberculosis Association began to sponsor the annual campaigns.

## SMILES

"Hello, Bill. I hear that you're an exporter now."

"What?"

"Didn't the Pullman Co. fire you?"

★ ★ ★

Lazy secretary: "Well, I suppose the war is nearly over. I was an hour and a half late this morning and the boss fired me."

★ ★ ★

A visitor to a public library recently asked for a map showing France and Germany. After she looked at it for some minutes, she walked over to the librarian and asked with a puzzled expression, "Could you help me please? I've looked and looked, but I simply can't find that 'No Man's Land' on here."

★ ★ ★

Lady: "Where is your son now?" Neighbor: "He's at college taking medicine."

Lady: "Oh, that's too bad. And do you think he will be well soon?"

★ ★ ★

Customer: "The sausages you sent me were meat at one end and bread crumbs at the other."

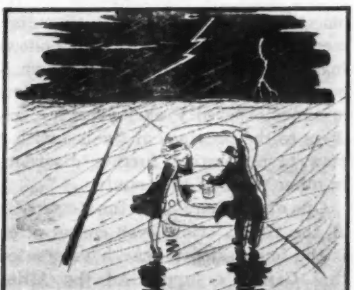
Grocer: "Alas, that's true. In these days of rationing, it is very difficult to make both ends meet."

"Mother, I fell into a mud puddle."  
"Oh, Willy, with your new trousers on?"  
"Well, it happened so fast that I didn't have time to take them off."

★ ★ ★

The class composition was about kings. One boy wrote this:

"The most powerful king on earth is Wor-king; the laziest is Shir-king; the wittiest, Jo-king; the quietest, Thin-king; and the noisiest, Tal-king."



BARLOW IN COLLIER'S

"But, honey, we were saving that gas for an emergency!"

## Questions from the News

1. What provisions does the present social security program make with respect to (a) unemployment insurance? (b) old-age and survivors' benefits? (c) child welfare?
2. What are some of the changes proposed in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill now before Congress?
3. How much do employees and employers pay in taxes for the old-age insurance program? What will be the rate after January 1, unless Congress changes it?
4. How does the Canadian conscription policy differ from the American?
5. Why has the government recently changed that policy? Why do French Canadians oppose the new policy?
6. Who are the "Zombies" and how do they figure in the dispute?
7. Compare Canada with the United States in size and population? Tell something of the differences in government.
8. Why is Canada likely to face difficult economic problems after the war?
9. Name some of the principal powers conferred upon Congress by the Constitution.
10. What important economic changes have recently been inaugurated by the French government?

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### Pronunciations

- Arciszewski—ar-chee-shef'skee  
Bonomi—boe-noe-mee  
Mikolajczyk—mee-koe-l'keek—i as in ice  
Pierlot—pee-air'loe

# Overseas Conscription Raises Canadian Crisis

(Concluded from page 1)

fact that the Canadians, although united politically as one of the dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations, are far from united culturally or emotionally. Ever since the middle 1700's, when the British defeated the French in the contest over Canada, the French-speaking sections of the country have been almost a nation apart. Concentrated in the province of Quebec, the French were guaranteed freedom to enjoy their own civil laws and customs, their own language, and their own religion. When Quebec joined the confederation of Canadian provinces a century later, these same rights were further guaranteed.

Throughout the years, the French Canadians have clung tenaciously to these guaranteed rights. Numbering 3,500,000, they make up about a third of the population. They hold well over a fourth of the seats in the House of Commons at Ottawa and thus constitute a powerful political force. Moreover, the French-Canadian population is increasing more rapidly than the British-Canadian, with the possible result that the two groups will become more nearly equal in number in the years ahead.

The French Canadians, though tied to the British Commonwealth, have never felt particularly friendly toward the English and have been relatively luke-warm in their support of the war. When Canada declared war against Germany, along with England and the other dominions, the government realized that it would have to exercise caution in order to win the support of the French Canadians. That is why it effected a compromise solution on the problem of recruiting and training an army. Remembering the experiences of the First World War, it tempered its conscription law by providing that only those who volunteered for overseas duty could be sent out of the country.

For a long time, the compromise worked fairly well. Canadians by the thousands volunteered for overseas duty and, as pointed out earlier, fought as valiantly as the soldiers of any country. Two years ago, however, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King and his cabinet asked to be released from their earlier promise and to be given



The Canadian Parliament building at Ottawa

the authority to send conscripts overseas in case of an emergency.

In order to obtain the required authority directly from the people, a nationwide vote was taken on the issue. For the country as a whole, the vote was nearly two to one in favor of the government's proposal. But in the province of Quebec, a majority voted against it. In the interest of preserving national unity, therefore, the government decided not to use its newly granted authority unless it was absolutely necessary to do so.

Some weeks ago, the debate on the issue of sending conscripts overseas again reached a new peak, both in Parliament and throughout the country. The demand was raised that the 65,000 Canadian servicemen who had not volunteered for overseas duty be ordered to do so. It was pointed out that several hundred thousand of Canada's overseas fighters had been on duty for five years, and that they needed extended furloughs. If the Home Defense Army would not of its own accord accept combat duty, it was contended, it should be forced to supply the necessary reinforcements.

The issue was brought to a head in October when Defense Minister J. L. Ralston, after a trip to the fighting fronts, returned to Canada with the report that the necessary replacements in Italy and Western Europe could be met only by drafting members of the Home Defense Army for overseas duty. When Prime Minister Mackenzie King refused to comply with his request, the defense minister resigned.

Throughout the country, there was support for the position taken by Colonel Ralston and against that of Mackenzie King. Finally, the prime minister had to yield and agreed to send overseas 16,000 members of the Home Defense Army—or "Zombies" as they are called—into combat duty. This compromise measure failed to satisfy all the groups in Parliament. On the one hand, he was criti-

cized by those who favored all-out conscription, and, on the other by the members of his own party from Quebec, who opposed any yielding on the issue.

A few members of Mackenzie King's party from Quebec deserted him and joined the opposition when a vote of confidence was taken in the House of Commons. A majority stood by him, however, feeling that it would be dangerous to precipitate a political crisis in the midst of war. If the prime minister had been unable to win a majority of the votes in Commons, he would have been obliged to resign and either a successor would have been asked to form a cabinet or new elections would have been called. In either case, the result would have been a period of political uncertainty and instability.

It is not certain that the King government will be able to remain in power until next spring, when new elections are scheduled, despite its having weathered the recent storm. Although outward calm has been restored, deep resentment is smoldering under the surface. Members of the home army are resentful, especially the 22,000 who are French Canadians. They are angered at the aspersions which have been cast upon their patriotism. Many of the people of Quebec province feel that they have been betrayed by the government.

At the same time, the position of the "Zombies" who remain on home-guard duty has been made more difficult by the recent disturbances. They have been branded as cowards by Canadians at home and by the fighting men at the front.

In order to prevent further disturbances, it seems unlikely that the government will send many of the French-Canadian "Zombies" overseas, but will rather meet the requirements for replacements from British-Canadian members of the Home Army. Following demonstrations by zombies in various parts of the country, the prime minister ordered French-speaking soldiers to the province of Quebec with a view to preventing further disorders in other parts of the country.

One of the more unfortunate aspects of the recent crisis over conscription is the impression it may have created that Canada's support of the Allied war effort is lagging. Nothing could be further from the truth. The fact

that Canada's direct contribution to Allied fighting might has been so great, under a volunteer system of overseas duty, is a tribute to the country's determination to fight the war to the very end.

Few of the United Nations have made a greater contribution, in proportion to population and resources, in supplying the Allied armies with the equipment they need. Canada ranks fourth as a source of supply for the Allies. She has been sending, in a steady stream, large supplies of wheat, meat, fish, cheese, eggs, and other essential foods.

Since the outbreak of World War II, Canada's economy has been almost completely overhauled to meet the needs of war. She has built hundreds of new factories to produce war supplies needed by the United Nations. She has become the world's leading producer of base metals, such as nickel, copper, zinc, and lead. Starting virtually from scratch, she has built a powerful navy and merchant marine. Last year, she turned out nearly a billion dollars' worth of planes, tanks, and ships alone. Not only has she met most of the needs of her own overseas army of a quarter of a million, air force of 200,000, and navy of 75,000, but she filled many a war contract for Britain during the darkest days of the war. Today only about 30 per cent of Canada's total war production is required for her own needs. The rest is used by the other Allies.

Canada has accomplished this production miracle without the help of



Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King

lend-lease funds from the United States. The people have financed the entire cost themselves, through heavy taxation and bond-buying.

The industrial and agricultural revolution which the war has brought to Canada is bound to have deep-seated effects upon the future development of our neighbor to the north. With a population of less than 12,000,000, it has become one of the world's leading producers and may remain so after the war. Many of its resources remain undeveloped and few countries in the world are in a better position to support a larger population than Canada.

In fact, Canada's small population is an economic liability because it makes her prosperity depend too heavily upon foreign trade. A larger domestic market after the war is essential if the country is to keep its war-created production machinery in full operation.



A political upheaval in Canada has resulted from the government's decision to conscript soldiers for overseas duty.





Canada, third largest nation in the world, is playing a vital role in the combined war effort of the United Nations

## Canada—The Land and People

WHEN Americans think of Canada, two impressions are likely to come immediately to mind. The first is that Canada offers one of the world's most striking examples of a friendly neighbor and the second is that the people of Canada and Americans are very much alike. We do not regard Canadians as "foreigners" in the sense that we consider South Americans or Europeans or Asians to be "different" from ourselves.

In the main, these impressions are accurate. So far as Canada's being a friendly neighbor is concerned, there can be no question of that. That friendliness is symbolized by the fact that it has always maintained the longest unfortified border in the world. The actual distance of this boundary is 3,897 miles, of which 2,198 miles are on water and 1,789 on land. If we consider the boundary which separates Canada from Alaska in the northwest, we have an additional 1,500 miles of unfortified boundary, making a total of about 5,400 in all.

The impression that Canadians and Americans are very much alike is only partially correct. It is true that if you cross the border into Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, or Ontario, there is little to make you feel that you are in a different country. The people speak as Americans speak, dress much the same. Their cities appear little different from American cities.

But if you travel into the province of Quebec and visit the cities of Montreal or Quebec or any of the smaller towns, you immediately feel that you are in a strange land. The people impress you as being different and you would probably describe them and their cities as "quaint." As you walked down the streets you would hear French spoken, with an occasional conversation in English. Although politically united into a single

country, the inhabitants of French Canada appear to live in and belong to a different world. They have indeed clung to the centuries-old customs and traditions of their ancestors.

Canada is the third largest country in the world, exceeded in size only by Russia and China, and yet it has a population of less than 12,000,000 persons. With 7 per cent of the earth's area, it has but 0.5 percent of the world's population.

More than 75 per cent of the inhabitants of Canada live along the southern border, within 200 miles of the United States. That is one reason why the feeling of neighborliness has developed. The population is concentrated largely in four main regions. The first is the Atlantic region which includes the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. The people engage in fishing, lumbering, and farming, and are mostly of mixed English and Scottish ancestry, with a sprinkling of French Canadians.

The population center of Canada is located in the second region, including the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, with 60 per cent of the population and 80 per cent of the manufacturing of the entire country. But the two provinces have little in common. The boundary between these two provinces is the line of demarcation between two civilizations which have so frequently come into conflict, as in the recent dispute on overseas conscription (see page 1).

Stretching west of Quebec and Ontario are the three great Prairie Provinces of Canada—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, renowned the world over for their wheat-growing. The fourth principal region lies west of the Rockies, in British Columbia. This is one of the most rugged areas of the world, with towering mountains, huge forest areas. Largely undevel-

oped, the main occupations are lumbering, fishing, and mining. The port of Vancouver, in British Columbia, handles most of Canada's trade with the Orient.

The population of Canada, in 1941, was 11,500,000. Of the total, roughly one-half are of British ancestry, one-third French Canadians, and the remaining one-fifth of mixed European and other stock. The French Canadians are concentrated in the province of Quebec, where they make up 80 per cent of the population, although there are sizeable numbers of them in New Brunswick, Northern Ontario, and the Prairie Provinces. As pointed out elsewhere (see page 1), the inhabitants of Quebec enjoy certain privileges. They have their own civil laws and language. Both French and English, for example, are official languages, used on stamps and currency, in radio broadcasts, and in all government publications.

The government of Canada bears many points of similarity to that of the United States. Both are confederations, with certain functions performed by the central or federal government and others by the state or provincial governments. The central government, located at Ottawa, is composed of a Senate, elected for life with equal representation from the several regions, and a House of Commons, elected at no more than five-year intervals.

The Canadian form of government resembles the British in most important respects. The prime minister is the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons and his cabinet is chosen from his party members in Commons. If, on any important issue, the cabinet—or government as it is called—fails to carry a majority in the House, it resigns and the leader of the opposition party is called to form a new government.

Although Canadians swear allegiance to the British king, they are independent of Britain in all domestic and foreign matters. The governor-general of Canada is the King's representative in Canada, but his position is more social than anything else. He enjoys practically no executive power and is obliged to act in accordance with the wishes of the cabinet in all matters.

One of the weaknesses of the Canadian government is the limitation which has been placed upon the central government. Through court interpretations of the Canadian constitution, more and more power has been vested in the provinces. Thus, it has become difficult for the federal government to deal with many truly national problems, such as social security and economic controls, because it has been held that only the provincial governments have the power to deal with these problems.

Canada's principal economic weakness is her small population. Her resources are almost limitless, but now, as in the past, she must depend upon foreign markets to maintain a fair level of prosperity. She has become the world's third largest trading nation—the first if measured in terms of population. Her postwar prosperity will depend upon her ability to find markets for the great productive machine which has come into being since the outbreak of war.

Many of Canada's vast resources remain largely undeveloped as a result of her small population and the difficulty of providing adequate transportation facilities. At great cost, the Canadians have tried to overcome the latter handicap by building the third largest railroad network in the world, by expanding air transportation, and by building a transcontinental highway. But they still face the problem of a small population.

*The Democratic Process*

# Powers of the American Congress

A MAN from Mars, noting the number and variety of laws Congress passes every year, might think that in the United States, the national legislature can regulate anything in any way it sees fit. But he would be wrong. The Constitution, by listing certain things Congress can and cannot do and by reserving certain powers for the states, the executive, and the courts, has placed its authority within fairly definite bounds.

The man from Mars would be equally wrong, however, if he thought that because of the Constitution the powers of Congress are completely and permanently fixed. The Constitution cannot possibly say exactly what Congress is to do in every situation. Knowing they could not set definite rules to cover every problem which might arise, the framers of the Constitution made some of their stipulations flexible so that Congress might adjust its functions to the needs of changing times.

Nor is it only through these "elastic" provisions that the powers of Congress change. The exercise of some powers implies the use of others. And new interpretations of even some of the clauses which seem most specific are constantly redefining the authority of Congress within the general pattern of government established by the makers of the Constitution. Frequent controversies, like the one over the question of whether the federal government or the states should regulate soldier voting, testify to the fact that the balance of power between Congress and the states and between Congress and the executive is constantly shifting.

Many of the most important powers of Congress derive from its right to raise money by means of taxes and tariffs—the first one specifically granted by the Constitution. The only limitation on this power is that all taxes must be uniform throughout the nation. Until 1913, Congress was limited in the amount it might raise by the fact that it could not impose individual income taxes based upon a person's ability to pay. In that year, however, an amendment was added to make the federal income tax legal.

By taxing individual incomes, Congress can raise huge sums of money. This means it can finance federal projects on a large scale, pay for any number of administrative agencies, and further programs it favors by granting money to the states for specific purposes. Because of the second power granted to it in the Constitution—to borrow money on the credit of the United States—it can add almost indefinitely to the funds raised by taxation.

The power to levy tariffs on goods imported into the United States gives Congress a highly important means of controlling the nation's economy. By placing high tariffs on commodities which are also made here, it can make it unprofitable for foreign merchants to sell to us and thus protect the market for native industry. By placing low tariffs on other commodities, and thus encouraging other countries to sell to us, it can stimulate foreign trade, for with the money made from sales here, foreign nations will be able to buy our exports. It was largely through the use of this power over tariff policies that Congress influenced

the early industrial development of this country.

Congress' power over foreign trade extends even farther than this, however. Third among the enumerated powers in the Constitution is the power to "regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states and with the Indian tribes." This clause authorizes Congress to regulate our foreign trade in any way it sees fit.

But the deepest significance of the power over commerce is in domestic affairs. By interpreting interstate commerce more and more broadly, Con-

gress has gradually assumed authority to regulate almost all phases of business. The first big step in this direction was taken in 1890, when Congress passed the first antitrust law, banning certain practices among firms incorporated in one state and selling their products in others. Today even insurance contracts which cross state lines are considered part of interstate commerce.



**LEGISLATIVE CALLS ON EXECUTIVE.** Members of Congress frequently visit the White House to discuss legislation with the President. Here Sam Rayburn, speaker of the House, and Alben W. Barkley, Senate majority leader, are shown with reporters after such a conference with the President.

gress has gradually assumed authority to regulate almost all phases of business. The first big step in this direction was taken in 1890, when Congress passed the first antitrust law, banning certain practices among firms incorporated in one state and selling their products in others. Today even insurance contracts which cross state lines are considered part of interstate commerce.

In giving Congress the power to lay and collect taxes, the makers of the Constitution inserted one of the most flexible grants of authority to be found in that document. Tax-collecting, they said, was "to provide for the common defense and general welfare" of the country. The words "general welfare" are now interpreted to mean many things. Much of the regulation of agriculture undertaken by the federal government during the depression, for example, was justified as contributing to the general welfare.

The Constitution gives Congress important authority in foreign affairs. The two houses are empowered to establish and maintain an Army and Navy and to declare war. The Senate has power to review the President's appointments of ambassadors and to pass on treaties he has negotiated with foreign governments.

An outright declaration of war

While control of crime is generally regarded as a state function, Congress is authorized by the Constitution to set up and use police forces for the suppression of some types of illegal activity. In connection with its power to coin money, it is directed to punish counterfeiters. Certain crimes which involve the crossing of state lines also fall under its jurisdiction. Violators of federal laws, such as postal regulations and tax laws, are also punishable under the direction of Congress.

In giving Congress these powers, the framers of the Constitution also provided it with some very potent defenses against encroachments or abuses by the other branches of the federal government. One of these is the impeachment power. This provides that whenever the President, vice-president, or other officers of the national government outside Congress are suspected of malpractice, charges may be preferred against them in the House and a trial held by the Senate. If found guilty, the impeached official is to be deprived of his office and disqualified from all future office-holding.

A second set of defenses given to Congress by the Constitution relate to its powers over the judicial branch of the government. The Constitution empowers Congress to establish the hierarchy of federal courts under the Su-

preme Court. In connection with this power, Congress may also abolish any of the federal courts as it sees fit.

The Constitution also specifically grants Congress a number of minor powers—to provide for copyrights and patents, to set up a postal system, to regulate the naturalization of aliens, to specify certain of the conditions surrounding elections, and to take the initial step in amending the Constitution. Finally, it authorizes it to make all laws necessary to carry out the specifically enumerated powers. It is from this, the "implied powers" clause,

that Congress derives the right to expand the scope of its legislation as it has since its establishment more than 150 years ago.

The most significant limitations to Congress' power are contained in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution—the Bill of Rights. Here Congress is forbidden to make any laws which would take away religious freedom, free speech, or freedom of assembly. Congress is forbidden to authorize the quartering of soldiers in private homes, unwarranted searches and seizures, or imprisonment without a clear indictment. Federal laws abridging the right to a trial, or fixing excessive bail, excessive fines, and "cruel and unusual" punishments are also banned. And in the Tenth Amendment, Congress' power is limited by the specification that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." This means that where there is doubt about whether state or federal government is entitled to regulate any affair of the nation, the power is to go to the state.

The powers of Congress are also, of course, conditioned by the authority of the President. This topic will be discussed in a forthcoming article in the "Democratic Process" series.



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